[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a [122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era. [177] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all [177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

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648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 [574] 609 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allowing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [43] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 18 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648 1. A European had once illegally

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 776 [192] Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

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177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dtimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut *-l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is